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Review of "On display: Henrietta Maria and the materials of magnificence at the Stuart Court" by Erin Griffey, and "Queenship and revolution in early modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette", by Carolyn Harris

Journal Item

How to cite:

Wolfson, Sara (2016). Review of "On display: Henrietta Maria and the materials of magnificence at the Stuart Court" by Erin Griffey, and "Queenship and revolution in early modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette", by Carolyn Harris. *Royal Stuart Journal*, 7

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Version: Accepted Manuscript

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Please cite this publication as follows:

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Link to official URL (if available):

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***On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court.* By Erin Griffey. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016. ISBN 9780300214000. 384pp. £40 & *Queenship and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette.* By Carolyn Harris. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. ISBN 9781-127-4977207. xii + 273 pp. £63.**

The publication of two academic monographs on Queen Henrietta Maria in 2016 reinforces the value that this particular queen consort continues to bring to cultural, political, literary and architectural scholarship. Erin Griffey's richly illustrated and in-depth study based on archival evidence found mainly in England and France, investigates the story of Henrietta Maria's life from her marriage to her death at Colombes. *On Display* guides the reader through an impressive analysis of the queen's palaces, namely Somerset House; their interior furnishings; her role in court ceremonial; her devotional items; portraiture in visual and textual form; her fashions, tastes and jewellery; and the impact of exile and Restoration on her representation. Consequently, Griffey's work corresponds with the general trend in literary and historical studies to understand Henrietta Maria's motivations, activities and influence on both a European and domestic stage. Understanding this queen's activities forms a central focus behind Carolyn Harris's comparative study of Henrietta Maria's experiences against those of Marie Antoinette. A thematic framework enables Harris to consider key unifying themes within which to consider these two queens consort, such as childhood and education; marriage and motherhood; and war and revolution. Despite the broad breadth of the study, Harris makes a case for comparative analysis to explore changes in monarchical sovereignty; the role of women in the family and public sphere; as well as the interpretation of 'ideas of foreignness' across the two ends of the early modern period. The extent to which the reader can agree on the importance placed on the public sphere in shaping both these women's experiences is perhaps debatable. Taken together these two books share similar concerns over representation of queenship in terms of piety, authority and gender that this review will briefly now seek to address.

Formative influences upon the lives of royal women feature in both *On Display* and *Queenship and Revolution*. In considering Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette's education and maternal example, Harris draws attention to their expressions of Catholic piety and the acquirement of skills necessary for court ceremonial, such as singing and dancing. For the reader familiar with Henrietta Maria's life, it is perhaps surprising that the letter of instruction she received from Marie de' Medici on her marriage to Charles I is not reflected upon in this chapter as a key maternal influence. Nonetheless, interesting observations are made by Harris over the glorification of Henrietta Maria's Bourbon lineage at her wedding celebrations in contrast to Marie Antoinette's efforts to assimilate into French society on her marriage. The importance of Henrietta Maria's confessional and Bourbon background in shaping her wedding celebrations and trousseau are a central element within Griffey's study. The model of virtuous queenship provided by Marie de' Medici in the cycle of paintings prepared for Luxembourg Palace by Rubens is explored against the queen mother's personal instructions to her daughter to safeguard her faith at Amiens. Of particular value is Griffey's analysis of Louis XIII's efforts to reinforce ideas of French magnificence and Catholic piety within his sister's trousseau. For the first time a number of key engravings produced in England and France to celebrate the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria are brought together,

allowing Griffey to make astute observations about French concerns over the queen's potential coronation.

The autonomy that queens consort held over their household arrangements feature as areas of analysis in both texts. For Henrietta Maria, Harris quite rightly draws attention to the importance placed on Anna of Denmark's structural precedent and authority in discussions over the shape that a queen consort's household should take. Harris's analysis of Henrietta Maria's control over her ceremonial practices, particularly in relation to chapel worship, resonates with Griffey's discussion of the Cross Gallery for Catholic worship at Somerset House during the first year of the royal marriage. Moreover, a crucial concern behind Griffey's work is how Henrietta Maria responded to Anna of Denmark's legacy to reinforce her legitimacy as Stuart queen consort, at the same time as shaping her own French fashions and tastes through her furnishings. Further similarities can be found in Harris's focus on Marie Antoinette's management of her own property, ability to make individual appointments, and dispensation of patronage without Louis XVI's involvement. These ideas concur with Griffey's discussion of Henrietta Maria's 'directorial' influence over patronage within her palaces. As Griffey explains, this form of patronage was not restricted to the act of payment but also included the 'initiation' of services, 'protection' and the 'display' of goods within her palaces. This form of patronage builds upon the ideas that royal patronage in the late 1620s and 1630s was collaborative at the Stuart court. In discussing the extent of Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette's independence over their household management it would have been helpful perhaps for Harris to draw more fully on the household accounts relating to these queens' expenditure. Nonetheless, collectively these books make crucial points about the discussion of the creation of a private space, particularly for Marie Antoinette, in contrast to the conscientious pursuit of magnificence that we find in *On Display*.

The role of marriage and representation are understandably predominant elements behind both books. Harris considers how Henrietta Maria and Marie Antoinette's engagement with 'affective marriage' led to popular anxiety about gender norms and the subversion of the state by foreign influences. While Harris makes some interesting observations about the critique of Catholics towards Henrietta Maria in the 1630s, the same nuanced approach is not apparent in her discussion of Protestant perceptions of the queen during this time. The exploration of Enlightenment ideology of domesticity in Harris's discussion of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette's failure to present themselves as a happily married couple allows the author to reflect upon the conflict between urban Bourgeoisie ideals and the reality of life at Versailles. Similar concerns over popular reaction to queenship can be seen in Griffey's discussion of the efforts to find a 'more widely palatable' and generic image of Henrietta Maria for broader distribution in Protestant Stuart Britain through the use of the lily, rose and laurel. *On Display* explores the personal success of the royal marriage from 1628 onwards through the commissioning of portraits of the queen in various formats - 'independent, pendant, double' - and the prevalence of building works at Somerset House in the French fashion.

Finally, motherhood provides a strong linking factor between these two books. Harris argues that Henrietta Maria was forced to compromise her parenting style over the baptism of Charles II and her marriage treaty which specified that the children could be brought up Catholic, but considers how the use of royal births were moments of intercession for the

queen on behalf of Catholic subjects. Harris's analysis of Marie Antoinette's increased political influence through appointments within the royal nursery to her favourites and the creation of a private realm for her son and daughter offers a significant contrast to *On Display*. Griffey's detailed discussion of the material goods necessary for royal births and Henrietta Maria's lying-in shows how motherhood validated her significance within Stuart ceremonial and political culture. Demonstrations of magnificence within the private realm of the bedchamber during Henrietta Maria's lying-in took on a much broader political significance through her furnishings, artwork and ceremonial visits. Portraits and engravings of the royal family reinforced the queen's role as consort and mother to the Stuart dynasty on a much wider domestic and international level.

Both books make important observations about the cultural and political significance of queens consort based on gender concepts and piety. At times, the authors could consider audience in more depth in their discussion of perceptions of authority and the extent to which individuals controlled their own image. Nonetheless, Griffey's work brings to light a whole range of goods previously ignored in Stuart historiography and shows clearly their cultural relevance. Harris's comparative text offers insights into the usefulness of analysing consorts in this way to look at broader trends in royal women's life cycles, at the same time as investigating distinct occasions like impeachment.

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